UNITED NATIONS

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Security Council

PROVISIONAL

S/PV.3334
4 February 1994

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND THREE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-FOURTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 4 February 1994, at 4.55 p.m.

President:	Mr. OLHAYE	(Djibouti)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. CARDENAS
	Brazil	Mr. de ARAUJO CASTRO
	China	Mr. LI Zhaoxing
	Czech Republic	Mr. KOVANDA
	France	Mr. MERIMEE
	New Zealand	Mr. van BOHEMEN
	Nigeria	Mr. GAMBARI
	Oman	Mr. AL-KHUSSAIBY
	Pakistan	Mr. KHAN
	Russian Federation	Mr. VORONTSOV
	Rwanda	Mr. BIZIMANA
	Spain	Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Mrs. ALBRIGHT

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94-85139 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 4.55 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN SOMALIA

FURTHER REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL SUBMITTED IN PURSUANCE OF PARAGRAPH 4 OF RESOLUTION 886 (1993) (S/1994/12)

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Somalia, in which she requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Ms. Hassan (Somalia) took a place at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the further report of the Secretary-General submitted in pursuance of paragraph 4 of resolution 886 (1993); that report is contained in document S/1994/12.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1994/115, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

(The President)

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following revision to be made to the draft resolution contained in document S/1994/115 in its provisional form. At the beginning of the penultimate preambular paragraph, the words "Keeping in mind" should be replaced by the word "Reaffirming".

Members of the Council have received photocopies of a letter dated 4 February 1994 from the Chargé d'affaires ad interim of the Permanent Mission of Malaysia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council. This letter will be issued under the symbol S/1994/120.

(The President)

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it, as orally revised in its provisional form. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. GAMBARI (Nigeria): I should like to begin by congratulating you, Sir, on your assumption of the office of President of the Council for the month of February. My delegation is certain that you will lead the Council wisely and effectively.

May I also convey, through you, Mr. President, our thanks to your predecessor, His Excellency Mr. Karel Kovanda of the Czech Republic, for the very able, and often enthusiastic, manner in which he discharged his duties as President for the month of January. His performance was exceptional, given the fact that, like some of the rest of us, he was then a brand new member of the Council.

My delegation would like to commend the Secretary-General for the comprehensive but realistic report on the current state of play in Somalia contained in document S/1994/12 of 6 January 1994. We salute the untiring efforts of the entire personnel of the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II), who, along with the personnel of several international agencies, Governments and institutions, have helped to assure the relative progress which have been made toward peace in Somalia. My delegation commends, in this connection, the creation of local councils at the district and regional levels as well as the renewed efforts towards the restoration of the justice system and the police in Somalia.

(Mr. Gambari, Nigeria)

We take note with satisfaction of the ongoing efforts of the United Nations Operation in Somalia to achieve national reconciliation through political dialogue between the various factions, in recognition of the fact - a fact which we believe is truly realistic - that dialogue, not war, is the path which the parties in Somalia should follow if the protracted conflict there is to be resolved peacefully.

Unfortunately, however, as demonstrated in the Secretary-General's report, much still remains to be done in Somalia. The scheduled withdrawal of forces and facilities of a significant number of countries with effect from 31 March 1994 is not going to make the task of UNOSOM II any easier. Moreover, as the Secretary-General's report indicates,

> "there are growing indications that the major factions are actively rearming in anticipation of renewed hostilities in the coming months". (S/1994/12, para. 34)

At the same time, there are ominous signs that new defensive positions are being erected by clans in areas of the country which they consider their strategic strongholds, while a significant build-up of troops is again occurring in the turbulent areas of southern Mogadishu.

As a result of these serious developments, UNOSOM's programme of disarmament in accordance with the commitments undertaken by the Somali factions themselves at Addis Ababa in January and March 1993 has, of course, failed to materialize. Genuine political reconciliation efforts aimed at bringing together the various factions have been severely hampered, along with rehabilitation and reconstruction efforts. And what is perhaps most worrisome of all,

(Mr. Gambari, Nigeria)

the distribution of humanitarian relief has now been so adversely affected that, as the Secretary-General himself pointedly remarks in his current report,

> "several indicators suggest that in the past few months malnutrition levels are again on the rise in parts of Somalia". (S/1994/12, para. 21)

Thus, as we deliberate in the Council today, Somalia once again stands at the crossroads. Against the background of the stalled political reconciliation process, continuing fighting among the various clans, and violence against UNOSOM II personnel and property, and with the immediate possibility of an old problem - famine - resurfacing in parts of the country, the international community faces once again the crucial question of whether or not the international community, and more specifically the United Nations, should divest itself entirely of Somalia.

It appears to our delegation that for the credibility of our Organization and in the higher interest of the Somali people, UNOSOM II cannot simply fold up and exit from Somalia. To do so would, among other things, mean that all the soldiers and others who paid the supreme sacrifice on behalf of the international community had indeed died in vain and that United Nations involvement in Somalia was a "mission impossible".

No, we must continue to help the people of Somalia, as we have done for the past year, so that they can overcome their difficulties and enable their country to rejoin the international community in peace and with dignity.

The draft resolution we are about to adopt is, in the view of my Government, realistic yet forward looking. It represents a

(Mr. Gambari, Nigeria)

reaffirmation by the Council that despite the difficulties and complexities of the Somali situation, the United Nations will not be stampeded out of its mission, and that in the coming months it will continue to exert itself to help the people of Somalia as best it can with diminished resources.

However, it is important, as the draft resolution makes clear, that in the ongoing efforts at political reconciliation, rehabilitation and reconstruction in Somalia the Somali people themselves play the leading part. The Somalis must be encouraged to take their destiny into their own hands. We should also make it abundantly clear that the United Nations will intensify its cooperation with those who wish to cooperate, especially with our Organization, in order to assure the success of UNOSOM II and the fulfilment of its revised mandate.

My Government is pleased that the present draft resolution places a great premium on the need to assure the safety and protection of UNOSOM II personnel who will be remaining behind under the revised mandate - that is, who will be remaining behind after 31 March 1994 following the withdrawal of a substantial number of troops by some Member States. It is important that, whatever its exact force level after 31 March 1994, UNOSOM II should retain the capacity to effectively carry out its duties as redefined. The credibility of our Organization is clearly at stake.

We therefore call upon Member States to heed as a matter of urgency the Secretary-General's request for additional troops to join the Somalia mission. The Nigerian delegation urged others with the capacity and the means to do so to assist in providing the logistic and other necessary support which UNOSOM 11 would require

(Mr. Gambari, Nigeria)

to discharge its new mandate effectively, while assuring the safety and security of its personnel.

My delegation fully appreciates the draft resolution's reaffirmation of the obligations of States to implement fully the embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Somalia as previously imposed by paragraph 5 of resolution 733 (1992). Though Somalia is probably already overarmed, we believe that it is important to curtail further deliveries of arms to the country if the tasks of disarmament and assuring the safety of peace-keeping personnel are to be fulfilled. In this connection, it is also important, as again underscored in the present draft resolution, that all parties in Somalia

> "cooperate fully with UNOSOM II and respect the cease-fire arrangements and other commitments entered into by them". (S/1994/115, para. 7)

Finally, all Somali people should recognize that, as much as the international community would be willing to be helpful to them in their present difficulties, they must know also that such assistance will henceforth be contingent upon their own willingness to help themselves. The international community will not stay on indefinitely in Somalia.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Nigeria for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. KHAN (Pakistan): I would like to begin, Sir, by conveying to you the sincere felicitations of my delegation on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the current month and by assuring you of our fullest cooperation.

My delegation was deeply impressed by the ability and proficiency with which Ambassador Kovanda, the Permanent Representative of the Czech Republic, managed the affairs of the Council during the previous month. We wish to congratulate him on a job very well done.

The Secretary-General's report of 6 January 1994 on Somalia is yet another illuminating and most useful input. We have read it with great care. The report evokes in us both a sense of concern and a feeling of hope. The continuing differences between the group of 12 Somali factions and the Somali National Alliance over a number of issues of crucial importance, such as the legitimacy of the district and regional councils and the role of the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) are indeed disturbing. Equally worrisome is the information that malnutrition levels are again beginning to rise in Somalia, that banditry remains endemic, that armed robbery directed at UNOSOM II and non-governmental organization property is on the rise and that the Somali factions are rearming in anticipation of renewed hostilities in the coming months.

We are, however, encouraged by the information that 53 district councils and eight regional councils have already been set up and that substantial progress has been achieved in the re-establishment of the Somali police and judicial system. The fact that no major factional armed clash has taken place in Somalia during the last few weeks ought to be regarded positively. We continue to hope that the Somali parties will be able to agree on some sort of a national transitional authority before too long.

(Mr. Khan, Pakistan)

Let me repeat at this point that the presence of the Pakistani contingent as a part of the United Nations operation in Somalia stems only from our commitment to the peace-keeping role of the United Nations and our desire to help our Somali brethren. Our only interest in Somalia is the welfare of the people of that country, and we have no interest or role in the internal politics of Somalia. We wish the Somali people well and would want the United Nations operation in Somalia to terminate in success. Ideally this should mean the establishment of a Government acceptable to the Somalis and a return to peaceful conditions in that country. Consequently, there is a deep sense of sorrow in Pakistan over the casualties that have taken place in Somalia, whether among the peace-keepers, the humanitarian workers or the Somalis.

The draft resolution that the Council is poised to adopt today is the result of extensive dialogue and discussions among the Council members. The involvement of the United Nations in Somalia over the last two years or so has been a learning experience. The fresh mandate that is being given to UNOSOM II is more modest than the one under which it was operating before. Now the responsibility for the restoration and maintenance of law and order within the country lies solely with the Somali people, and UNOSOM II is there only to help them in this process. It is quite clear that in the event of inter-clan fighting UNOSOM II will not get involved. It is also clear that UNOSOM II will only encourage and assist the Somali parties in the process of disarmament. It is not required to enforce the disarmament or other clauses contained in the Addis Ababa Agreements of January and March 1993.

Obviously, this means that the Somali parties themselves will

(Mr. Khan, Pakistan)

have to take greater responsibility for the establishment of viable political institutions and normal conditions in their country. We see this as a development in the right direction. There is no doubt that Somalia belongs to the Somalis and only they should have the choice to determine the direction which their country is to take. The international involvement in Somalia is temporary and is designed only to assist the Somalis, who will obviously always be there in their own country. Thus the stakes are much higher for them than for the United Nations or the international community. It is our earnest hope that the leadership and the people of Somalia will make the best use of the help that is being extended to them to bring back peace, order and stability to their country.

As the Somalis themselves take on the responsibility for the maintenance of law and order in their country, the re-establishment of the Somali police and judicial system acquires added urgency. Though considerable progress has been made in this regard, a lot still remains to be accomplished, and it should be done with the utmost dispatch. In this context, my delegation is particularly appreciative of the generous and important contributions made by Japan, the United States, the United Kingdom and other donor countries.

My delegation endorses the Secretary-General's recommendations pertaining to the revised mandate of UNOSOM II as well as its reduced force level. We sincerely hope that there will be no more armed attacks on UNOSOM II troops anywhere in Somalia. However, it is vitally important that all necessary material means and military assets are placed at the disposal of UNOSOM II to enable it to effectively defend its personnel in case of an armed attack. We are grateful that the draft resolution before the Council clearly underscores this point, which is of particular significance for the troop-contributing countries.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Pakistan for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. BIZIMANA (Rwanda) (interpretation from French): I wish first of all, Sir, to extend to you my delegation's congratulations on assuming the presidency of the Council. Your wisdom, your keen sense of responsibility and your broad experience guarantee the success of our work this month. My delegation assures you of its full cooperation, and at the same time wishes to express its esteem and admiration to Ambassador Kovanda of the Czech Republic for the extensive work he carried out with skill and dedication last month.

Today, as we in the Security Council consider the agenda item on the situation in Somalia, my delegation joins those that have expressed thanks to the Secretary-General for his efforts to bring about a settlement of the conflict, and for his new report, which takes stock of developments in Somalia since the publication of his last report.

The delegation of Rwanda is pleased that some progress has been made in Somalia since the United Nations intervention in that country, and especially recognizes some concrete results, particularly in the humanitarian area. In this respect, my delegation wishes to pay tribute to the efforts of the Organization of African Unity, the League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, as well as of all the countries whose contributions remain crucial for the successful conclusion of the peace process in Somalia.

We also salute the courage of the personnel of the United Nations and of governmental and non-governmental organizations that have contributed to this progress by working under such difficult conditions.

(Mr. Bizimana, Rwanda)

Despite the progress, we note that the overall situation is far from reassuring, due to the continuing humanitarian emergency, the deep-seated disagreements between the two main groups of factions and the persisting insecurity in certain regions of the country.

In the humanitarian area, we are perturbed by the high level of malnutrition still reported in certain regions of Somalia. We consider that the distribution of humanitarian relief should be continued and should be guaranteed by the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II).

In this context, we hail the Addis Ababa Declaration, which set out a strategy to facilitate the establishment of mechanisms to raise and allocate resources needed for the implementation of programmes and projects for the reconstruction of Somalia.

At the political level, we hope that the establishment of the Transitional National Council will be effective, and we urge all parties concerned to cooperate to facilitate its formation, which would be a decisive step towards restoring sovereignty in Somalia.

(Mr. Bizimana, Rwanda)

My delegation wishes to express its deep concern over the reports of renewed stockpiling of arms by the Somali factions and of the concentration of troops in certain parts of the country. We believe this situation calls for support for all the parties with a view to ensuring disarmament, which is a prerequisite for the establishment of peace, national security and Somalia's socio-economic recovery. We therefore call on all the Somali parties to commit themselves once and for all to a disarmament process and to respect the cease-fire.

Given that the security situation is still a matter of concern in many parts of Somalia, my delegation remains convinced that the actions aimed at facilitating the re-establishment of a Somali police force and system of justice take on crucial importance for the establishment of lasting peace and stability in Somalia, which is an important factor for restoring sovereignty.

In view of the challenges facing us, we believe that the international community, having made such a great investment in Somalia, should do everything in its power to continue the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II). We further believe that, as the Secretary-General stresses in his report, the United Nations mission in Somalia will be successful only when the Addis Ababa Agreements of January and March 1993 have been fully implemented, when general elections have been held and when a government elected in accordance with the wishes of the populace has been installed.

In this regard, we believe that, though some parties may still be hesitant about the peace process, we should be pleased at the overall positive trend, which proves that the great majority of the Somali people aspire to peace, support UNOSOM II and are cooperating with it. The international community and, in

(Mr. Bizimana, Rwanda)

particular, the Security Council should lend their full support to the Somali people in order to ensure a lasting peace.

My delegation is concerned that the critical situation in which Somalia finds itself could become extremely difficult if the almost simultaneous withdrawal of some contingents participating in the operation were not approached in the context of a plan that could safeguard the ultimate need to guarantee UNOSOM II all the means necessary for it to carry out its tasks properly. In these circumstances, we encourage the Secretary-General to step up the contacts he has already initiated with certain States and request them to contribute to the military and logistical components of UNOSOM II, which, under Chapter VII of the Charter, will continue to operate to fulfil the mandate set out in paragraph 2 of the draft resolution the Security Council is about to adopt.

We also believe that UNOSOM II should continue to serve as a catalyst for a successful political dialogue between the parties, which is the only proper way to settle the conflict in Somalia.

In this context, my delegation attaches the greatest importance to the contacts with the Somali parties that the Secretary-General may envisage, pursuant to paragraph 13 of the draft resolution, in order to establish by common agreement a timetable for the implementation of the Addis Ababa Agreements. To this end, we appeal to the parties concerned to contribute in good faith to the implementation of the Addis Ababa Agreements. We also call on them to refrain from any further attacks on UNOSOM II personnel and associated personnel working on the ground to alleviate the humanitarian suffering of the Somali people.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Rwanda for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. LI Zhaoxing (China) (interpretation from Chinese): First of all, I wish to join my colleagues in the Council in congratulating you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. I am confident that, with your remarkable talent and rich diplomatic experience, you will surely provide excellent guidance in the work of the Council for this month. I should also like to take this opportunity to thank your predecessor, His Excellency Ambassador Kovanda of the Czech Republic, for his outstanding contribution to the successful conclusion of the work of the Council last month.

The twists and turns in the Somali situation have made the international community increasingly aware that the ultimate solution to the Somali question lies in the Somali people themselves, and the key to this solution is the realization of broadly based national reconciliation. The international community has the obligation to help promote a political solution to the Somali question in order to obtain a lasting peace in Somalia. The Organization of African Unity and Somalia's neighbouring States can play an important and unique role in this regard. The draft resolution we are going to adopt reflects this strong aspiration of the international community. The Chinese delegation will therefore vote in favour of it.

The experiences and lessons of the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) have shown that the fundamental and effective way to settle the Somali question is by peaceful means. Resort to coercive military actions will only serve to complicate matters. The second option recommended by the Secretary-General is also in

(Mr. Li Zhaoxing, China)

conformity with this principle in its advocacy of non-use of coercive measures to achieve disarmament by the Somali parties themselves. For this, we wish to express our appreciation and support. We understand that the draft resolution does not, in essence, run counter to this principle either.

The Chinese delegation sincerely hopes that the Somali parties will, in the interests of their country and nation, cooperate with UNOSOM II, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and others so as to implement in earnest the relevant Security Council resolutions within the framework of the Addis Ababa Agreements, thus creating conditions for an early political settlement in Somalia and enabling the Somali people to embark on the road of national reconstruction and economic recovery.

The Chinese Government and people have all along attached great importance to the developments in Somalia and have profound sympathy for the sufferings of the Somali people. We shall, as always, continue to work with other members of the international community and make our contribution to the comprehensive political settlement of the Somali question.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of China for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. AL-KHUSSAIBY (Oman): Allow me at the outset, Sir, to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month of February. We are confident that your experience and competence will lead our work to a very successful conclusion. We, for our part, are ready to work with you to achieve that objective and are looking forward to doing so.

I should also like to take this opportunity to extend my sincere thanks and congratulations to your predecessor, Ambassador

(Mr. Al-Khussaiby, Oman)

Karel Kovanda, Permanent Representative of the Czech Republic to the United Nations, for the exemplary manner in which he steered our work last month.

Allow me also to extend my deep appreciation to the Secretary-General for his comprehensive report on Somalia and to his representatives in the Secretariat for their joint efforts in trying to achieve a better solution to the problem in Somalia.

As the Sultanate of Oman sees it, the solution of the Somali dilemma depends on two significant bases. First, the Somali leadership should be considered responsible parties in regard to putting an end to their conflicts and differences in favour of national reconciliation and their peaceful coexistence. We believe that the continuous existence of the United Nations operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II), without any certainty as to the time-frame for the completion of its mandate, will not lead to the Somali people's reaching any peaceful settlement of their differences.

(Mr. Al-Khussaiby, Oman)

Hence, the existence of such operations would be regarded as a truce or an endeavour leading to more procrastination by the Somali warring factions about finding a serious solution to the dilemma, while they depended on the existence of the United Nations operation to achieve this objective on their behalf.

We believe that the United Nations has done everything possible since the adoption of Security Council resolution 751 (1992), pursuant to which the United Nations Operation in Somalia was established. The draft resolution before us grants the Somali parties another opportunity to prove their real intentions regarding the achievement of peace in Somalia.

The second basis for solving this problem is to consider that the United Nations has a supporting role, rather than a role substituting for that of the Somali authorities. But the draft resolution before us does not reflect that. In our view, it gives the Somali parties the impression that they can benefit from the presence of the United Nations in Somalia, without taking into account the fact that the United Nations mission in Somalia was designated to carry out certain operations in a definite time.

We say to those members of the Council who believe and state that the United Nations mission in Somalia is to be limited to a certain time-frame that this does not convey the wrong message to the Somali leaders. In our view, the wrong message is the continuous and unlimited existence of the United Nations mission in Somalia. As evidence of this, I would point out that we have not seen any headway in achieving any agreements among the Somali parties, who on occasion have rejected any national reconciliation under the umbrella of the United Nations.

Despite our understanding of the vision of the Council reflected in the submission of the draft resolution before us,

(Mr. Al-Khussaiby, Oman)

we would have liked to see a clear and unambiguous formula in paragraph 13 indicating that the United Nations operation in Somalia would be concluded by March 1995.

In any event, our understanding of the draft resolution is that the United Nations mandate in Somalia should be concluded by March 1995 and cannot be extended except by the adoption of a new resolution on the basis of circumstances prevailing at that time. On that understanding, my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution.

The PRESIDENT: I now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/1994/115, as orally revised, in its provisional form.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Argentina, Brazil, China, Czech Republic, Djibouti, France, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The PRESIDENT: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution as orally revised, in its provisional form, has been adopted unanimously as resolution 897 (1994).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mrs. ALBRIGHT (United States of America): Mr. President, first let me congratulate you on assuming the leadership of the Council. We look forward to working closely with you on the important matters coming before the Council. It is indeed fortuitous that a nation from the Horn of Africa should preside over our deliberations today on the subject of your neighbouring country, Somalia.

(Mrs. Albright, United States)

Let me also take this opportunity to thank Ambassador Kovanda of the Czech Republic for his outstanding work last month. He faced an additional challenge in undertaking the presidency in his very first month on the Council. His success and accomplishments, overcoming that additional burden, should inspire us all.

I am pleased that the United States is able to support this resolution on Somalia. It is broad in scope, reflecting accurately the Secretary-General's comprehensive report dated 6 January 1994. There are three points I would like to stress about the resolution.

First, it states clearly what many of us have been saying for months: the people of Somalia must bear the responsibility for national reconciliation and the reconstruction of their country. We support the revised mandate, which emphasizes to all parties the United Nations role in voluntary disarmament to which the parties have already agreed. Let me stress that the patience of the international community is not an inexhaustible resource. If the Somalis wish to take advantage of the interest in the international community to assist in Somalia's rehabilitation, then they should rigorously and genuinely pursue all opportunities to resolve their differences peacefully.

Secondly, attacks on those providing humanitarian relief and reconstruction assistance must stop. Somalis cannot expect assistance to continue where relief workers and logistic facilities are attacked and relief supplies are looted. The United Nations forces will do their part to protect this humanitarian effort, but it is up to the Somalis to assure enough security for humanitarian assistance to continue.

Thirdly, as Somali efforts to achieve national reconciliation and security proceed, there is a role for the international community. This resolution provides the basis for the United

(Mrs. Albright, United States)

Nations to continue to lead this effort. The United States strongly supports a regional focus for assistance, giving priority to those areas of the country where there is security and where local institutions are prepared to cooperate. Reconciling differences at the local level will establish very clear examples of the benefits of reconciliation. The resolution also makes it clear that there is work to be done in laying the groundwork for a return to law and order through support for programmes to rebuild Somalia's police and its system of justice.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the United States for the kind words addressed to me.

Mr. MERIMEE (France) (interpretation from French): I am pleased to extend the compliments of the French delegation to you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. I should also like to express my most sincere thanks to Ambassador Kovanda for the excellent way he conducted the proceedings of the Council last month.

My delegation welcomes the adoption of this resolution on Somalia, which gives the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) a revised mandate that, while it is certainly less ambitious, is none the less more in keeping with the realities of the day.

This new mandate will make it possible for the United Nations to preserve its sizeable gains and to continue the work done by UNOSOM II under the direction of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General. It should be stressed that the presence of the United Nations in Somalia has saved many lives. It put an end to the tragedy of the starvation of an entire people. It made possible the renewal of political and economic structures. The

(Mr. Mérimée, France)

success of local and regional councils does indeed reflect the genuine interest of the Somalis in the political life of their region and their country. Are the divisions and the differences among them so irreconcilable as to prevent a people from living in peace and devoting itself to the reconstruction of its country?

It is clear, however, that the international community, which mobilized rapidly and massively under the aegis of the United Nations to come to the aid of the Somali people, cannot do so effectively against the will of certain of its leaders.

For the time being, the United Nations will continue to help deliver humanitarian aid as well as to assist in the reconstruction of the country's political, judicial and economic infrastructure. It will continue its efforts to convince the Somali parties to respect the commitments they have undertaken. It will strive to promote the process of national reconciliation, the only process that will make it possible one day for Somalia to have a legitimate government and to regain its identity.

My delegation welcomes the fact that the Council has decided to mobilize the human and financial resources needed to help the Somali people move towards this goal. But we must remember that, as has been emphasized in each of the Council's resolutions, it is the Somalis themselves who are responsible for their destiny, and that without their cooperation all the goodwill of the international community will be to no avail.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of France for the kind words he addressed to me.

Sir David HANNAY (United Kingdom): May I begin, Sir, by congratulating you on your assumption of the presidency and thanking your predecessor for the excellent work he did in the month of January.

The United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) has faced difficult times in recent months. The adjustments that have had to be made have been, inevitably, made in part in response to events. The time had thus definitely come, in our view, for a substantive review by the Security Council of the whole operation, and that review - called for in the Council's resolution 886 (1993) - has now been undertaken. The review has been a thorough one. Council members have had the benefit of th views of other delegations, including in particular those of countries contributing troops. They have been helped by the clear and realistic assessment of the current situation on the ground and the options for UNOSOM II, which was set out in the Secretary-General's report (S/1994/12) of 6 January.

The resolution we have just adopted as a result of this review underlines the international community's continuing commitment to assist the people of Somalia as they strive to put behind them the horrors of recent years. UNOSOM remains one of the largest, the most complex and the most costly peace-keeping operations ever undertaken by the United Nations. In future it will operate under a revised and more realistic mandate, which leaves in no doubt the need for cooperation from the Somali people if the operation is to achieve its goals. This must be right. The rebuilding of Somalia cannot be in the hands of UNOSOM II or of the international community: it must be, and it is, in the hands of the Somali people. The international community will continue to help them in

(Sir David Hannay, United Kingdom)

their efforts to re-establish viable national institutions and rebuild their country. But it cannot do the job for them.

My Government, along with others, has made generous provision for assistance to Somalia. That aid has been much needed. My Government supports the strategy set out at the Humanitarian Conference in Addis Ababa in November, and endorsed in the resolution we have just adopted, namely of giving priority in the provision of rehabilitation and reconstruction assistance to those regions able to provide a secure and stable environment and to those local Somali institutions prepared to cooperate with the international community. Once again, we must help the people of Somalia to help themselves.

My Government is deeply concerned at reports that some Somali factions are rearming, and of increased inter-clan clashes and banditry. We are particularly concerned by the renewed increase in violence and attacks against those engaged in humanitarian relief work. This resolution is clear in the mandate it gives to UNOSOM II to provide protection not only for United Nations personnel and installations but also for non-governmental organizations providing humanitarian assistance to the people of Somalia. That is surely right. The staff of non-governmental organizations who risk their lives to save those of Somalis must be helped to the best of the ability of the United Nations.

These incidents remind us that, in the longer term, economic rehabilitation and reconstruction in Somalia depend crucially upon the existence of a more secure and stable political environment. The steps already being taken by UNOSOM II to re-establish the Somali police and judicial system are vital to this. A point of particular concern to my Government is the need to ensure the very closest coordination between UNOSOM II and the various bodies engaged in rehabilitation and reconstruction work in Somalia, with

(Sir David Hannay, United Kingdom)

clearly defined lines of responsibility. In the belief that it may be able to help in this area, my Government has declared its readiness to give practical institutional support to the justice division and development office of UNOSOM II.

Clearly the way forward to this more stable political environment must be through dialogue between the parties in Somalia, building on the work already done. We commend the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General and of his Special Representative, of regional States and of the United States in this regard. We have been encouraged by recent reports of intensified contacts between different Somali factions. It is now for all of the factions in Somalia to seize the opportunity provided by the continued commitment of UNOSOM II and to achieve real national reconciliation and a lasting political settlement.

It is fashionable just now to regard Somalia as a defeat for the United Nations. Indeed, there have been many setbacks. But if we look back to the Somalia of a little over a year ago, with thousands dying of hunger and clan warfare raging, it is possible to put those setbacks in perspective and to see that there have also been many achievements. The task now is to put the setbacks behind us and seek to consolidate the achievements.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the United Kingdom for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. de ARAUJO CASTRO (Brazil): Allow me to congratulate you warmly, Sir, on your assumption of the office of President of the Security Council. I am certain that your skill and diplomatic experience will contribute decisively to the conduct of our work during this month. I would also like to say a word of well-deserved recognition to Ambassador Karel Kovanda, of the Czech Republic, for the great talent and intelligence with which he conducted the work of the Council during the month of January.

(Mr. de Araujo Castro, Brazil)

Brazil welcomes the adoption today of resolution 897 (1994), which opens a new period for the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) and seeks to point the way, in what is admittedly an exceedingly difficult and complex environment, towards a future of peace for that troubled nation, a future based on the recognition that it is the people of Somalia who bear the ultimate responsibility for setting up viable national political institutions and for reconstructing their country. The resolution places the necessary emphasis on assisting the political process in Somalia, in the search for national solutions for national problems.

We welcome the fact that in the process of preparing the text of the resolution we have just adopted the Council had at its disposal sufficient time to carefully review and assess all relevant aspects of the situation in Somalia and our options for future action, in the light of the recommendations contained in the very informative and thoughtful report (S/1994/12) presented by the Secretary-General. In this process, the members of the Council were very much aware of the need to take into account the views of countries not currently represented on the Council, in particular the countries in the region and those that are providing troops for the operation in Somalia.

The Council approved the recommendation for the continuation of UNOSOM II, with the revised mandate defined in the text of the resolution, a mandate which, as noted in paragraph 57 of the Secretary-General's report, excludes the use of coercive methods and instead relies expressly on the cooperation of the Somali parties.

Brazil has consistently maintained that the Council should avoid invoking the extraordinary powers conferred upon it in Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter except in clearly

(Mr. de Araujo Castro, Brazil)

exceptional circumstances, as in the unique case of Somalia. Even then, it should act in a very sparing manner, seeking to limit the application of these powers as much as possible.

We therefore welcome the fact that the text of the resolution makes it clear that it is only in the light of the very exceptional circumstances prevailing in Somalia, including in particular the absence of a national government, that the Security Council is acting under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. It is our understanding that this reference to Chapter VII applies only to those aspects of the resolution that fall clearly under the provisions of that Chapter of the Charter.

(Mr. de Araujo Castro, Brazil)

The care that was taken to ponder this and other aspects of the resolution, in contrast to the sense of urgency that prevails in the deliberations of the Council in so many cases, reflects both the complexity of the problems in that African nation and the fact that, in dealing with a country currently without a Government, the Council was keenly aware of its great responsibility. The Council was also well aware of the likely impact that the development of UNOSOM II might have on the future of other United Nations peacekeeping operations.

We should not lose sight of the fact that last year in Addis Ababa the Somali parties agreed on a framework for the solution of their country's many problems. Through the resolution we have just adopted, the international community is reiterating its recognition of the fact that the Addis Ababa Agreements continue to be the basis for a peaceful settlement in that troubled country. It is incumbent on the United Nations to support efforts leading to political reconciliation in Somalia, always bearing in mind the need to respect its sovereignty and territorial integrity.

With today's resolution, we are renewing our commitment to provide humanitarian assistance to the Somali people and assist them to reach a peaceful and lasting solution to their enormous internal problems. Although it is clear that the culmination of the political process of national reconciliation may still take some time, we expect that our collective efforts to promote and facilitate political reconciliation and reconstruction in Somalia may soon begin to bear fruit.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Brazil for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. VORONTSOV (Russian Federation) (interpretation from Russian): First of all, I should like to welcome you, Sir, upon your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for February. You can count fully on the support of the Russian delegation in your difficult task.

We are grateful to your predecessor as President of the Council, the representative of the Czech Republic, Ambassador Karel Kovanda, for his effective and thoughtful conduct of the proceedings of the Council in January.

The Russian Federation has consistently supported the efforts of the international community to afford humanitarian assistance to the people of Somalia. We have always favoured the early restoration of peace in that country and the return of its long-suffering people to normal life. We see as the main thrust of the resolution adopted by us today the fact that it shifts the focus to the activation of political aspects of the work of the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) and to the creation of conditions for the attainment by the Somalis of a stable political settlement on the basis of the Addis Ababa Agreements. Another important element in the resolution is, we believe, the gradual reduction of the strength of the military component of UNOSOM II, with a view to its further reduction at the next extension of the mandate.

We are convinced that the key to an early settlement of the conflict on an effective long-term basis is in the hands, first and foremost, of the Somali people itself, which, as is stressed in the resolution, bears principal responsibility for the creation of viable national political institutions and the rehabilitation of its country. Obviously, the Somali parties themselves must, in the interests of peace, stability and national reconciliation, evince the necessary political will, flexibility and readiness for

(Mr. Vorontsov, Russian Federation)

compromise, as well as a willingness to undertake constructive cooperation with the international community, which is genuinely ready to help, within its means, in this difficult endeavour.

It is important to build on the recent signs of positive trends in Somalia, particularly the stepping-up of contacts among the representatives of the various Somali parties. It is also important to make more active use, in addition to the efforts of the United Nations, of the whole gamut of political means - in particular, the Organization of African Unity and other regional organizations - and the efforts of a number of Somalia's neighbours and all other interested States, with a view to an optimal solution of this protracted conflict.

The Russian Federation, for its part, is ready, along with the whole international community, to promote efforts towards that end.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the Russian Federation for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. van BOHEMEN (New Zealand): The New Zealand delegation congratulates you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency. We are confident you will discharge your responsibilities with the usual wisdom you have displayed in the Council's deliberations over the past year. We also congratulate most warmly Ambassador Kovanda of the Czech Republic on the skill and aplomb with which he conducted our business last month.

We have just adopted a very important resolution in the development of the United Nations involvement in Somalia. It is another important step on the way to helping the Somali people on the path to reconstruction.

The resolution has been adopted after a fundamental and searching review of the role that the United Nations Operations in Somalia (UNOSOM II) can play in Somalia in the light of the

(Mr. van Bohemen, New Zealand)

political situation there and the change in the resources at its disposal.

We welcome the fact that troop-contributing countries had an opportunity to inject their views into the development of the resolution, and we look forward to further liaison between the Council and troop-contributing countries when important matters affecting troop contributors' interests are under consideration.

The most significant feature of the resolution is the change that it brings to UNOSOM's mandate. We welcome the fact that that mandate, unlike the mandate set out in resolution 814 (1993) establishing UNOSOM II, is clearly set out in the resolution.

The new mandate ensures that UNOSOM is given tasks appropriate to the circumstances now prevailing in Somalia, and commensurate with available resources. In particular, the mandate makes it clear that UNOSOM will endeavour to carry out its tasks in cooperation with the Somali parties and without recourse to coercive measures. In practice, the change in the mandate will bring the Council's instructions to UNOSOM into line with what UNOSOM is currently doing.

At the same time, the revised mandate re-emphasises the important role that UNOSOM must continue to play in safeguarding the infrastructure and lines of communication essential for the delivery of humanitarian relief and reconstruction assistance. It also recognises the continuing need for UNOSOM to ensure the protection of United Nations and other international and non-governmental humanitarian personnel in Somalia.

The resolution continues the emphasis that has been a feature of all of the Council's resolutions on Somalia - namely, the desire to support the process of political reconciliation, to provide humanitarian relief to Somalis in need and to facilitate international efforts for the reconstruction of the country.

(Mr. van Bohemen, New Zealand)

Since the United Nations first became involved in Somalia, it has been clear that if political and economic reconstruction is to succeed the Somali parties themselves must cooperate with each other and with the United Nations as the principal representative of the international community. This cooperation must extend to all spheres, including that of security and its disarmament aspects.

There is already in place a framework for the re-establishment of political authority in Somalia. The basic outline is contained in the Addis Ababa Agreements accepted by all the Somali parties last year. The district and regional councils that have been established with UNOSOM's assistance add flesh to that framework. The process represented by those achievements must be continued. We urge all Somali parties to cooperate in that endeavour.

A fundamental priority in the months ahead is the re-establishment of the presence and authority of the Somali police and the reconstitution of the Somali justice system. Functioning police and justice systems will be essential if Somalia is to regain control of its own destiny.

Both Somalia and UNOSOM II have been going through a difficult period. We are concerned at the reports of the re-arming of the factions and the build-up of troops in some regions. None the less, despite fears for the worst, and notwithstanding incidents such as that which took place earlier this week, the overall situation has remained relatively stable. We can take some comfort from that.

It remains the reality, however, that in the absence of a satisfactory and acceptable security situation there can be no guarantee that the international community will be able to sustain

(Mr. van Bohemen, New Zealand)

its assistance and ensure that those in need can be reached. This was demonstrated amply in the case of UNOSOM I.

New Zealand has been in Somalia from the beginning of the United Nations involvement. We continue to have personnel on the ground. We are committed to doing our bit for Somalia and for the international community's efforts to assist that country. At the same time, we also owe a duty to our own people and must keep the deployment of those personnel under review in the light of changing circumstances and the requirements of the Secretary-General.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of New Zealand for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO (Spain) (interpretation from Spanish): As this is the first time my delegation has addressed the Council this month, let me begin by congratulating you, Sir, on the skilful way in which you are guiding the work of the Council, which demonstrates your experience and your fine professional skills. I assure you of our continued cooperation and support.

I wish also to thank Ambassador Karel Kovanda for the skilful way in which he led the work of the Council in January - the first month of the Czech Republic's current membership of the Council.

Resolution 897 (1994), which the Council has just unanimously adopted, following thorough consultations within and outside the Council, gives the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) a new mandate - in keeping with the recommendations of the Secretary-General in his report of 6 January 1994 - with a view to bringing it into line with the situation on the ground and with the withdrawal of several contingents, expected to take place at the end of March.

The report of the Secretary-General, and the extensive debate that has taken place in the Council since it was issued, form part of the in-depth consideration the United Nations has been giving to the present and future status of its presence in Somalia. We are pleased that, thanks to this consideration, the United Nations has demonstrated an ability to respond and the flexibility to find the most effective and realistic way to help the Somali people to rebuild its institutions and thus to become a free, democratic and wholly sovereign country by 1995 - by which time UNOSOM II is to have completed its mission.

UNOSOM II thus continues with a reduced mandate, focusing more sharply on the most urgent tasks aimed at making it possible for the Somali people to carry out their national reconciliation

(Mr. Yañez Barnuevo, Spain)

efforts and to establish democratic institutions with the greatest possible chances of success, given the situation in the country.

All the Somali parties must understand that the work of the United Nations in their country is a flexible tool made available to it to promote initiatives in the political and security areas and in the process of national reconstruction. It is by no means something imposed by the international community.

Resolution 897 (1994) clearly sets out the new objectives of UNOSOM II. Achieving them now depends more than ever on the cooperation of the entire Somali people.

The Addis Ababa Declaration of 1 December 1993, resulting from the Fourth Coordination Meeting on Humanitarian Assistance for Somalia, is a document of critical importance, because it indicates the path the international community has chosen in order to raise and allocate resources on the basis of a regional strategy and to ensure the development of programmes and plans for the country's rehabilitation and reconstruction. This effort by donor countries and the United Nations is further proof of the international community's determination to ameliorate the humanitarian situation of the Somali people.

The Addis Ababa Declaration establishes a framework within which plans for the reconstruction of Somalia may be carried out in a climate free of hostilities in areas where local and regional institutions are indicating an interest in cooperating for the common good, and a readiness to do so.

Spain earnestly hopes that the United Nations commitment to Somalia - and the commitment of the countries and organizations of the region - will elicit cooperation from the Somali parties in the process of national reconciliation, a process that - we fervently hope - will culminate in the holding of democratic elections in 1995.

(Mr. Yañez Barnuevo, Spain)

Since the process of national reconstruction has a clear political framework in the Addis Ababa Agreements of January and March 1993, Agreements subscribed to by all the parties, the present differences that impede the implementation of the provisions of the Agreements should be resolved as quickly as possible, through agreement by the Somali parties on a precise and binding timetable. Only thus will it be possible to pursue action by the international community to help the entire Somali people, effectively and in the proper conditions.

We hope that the report the Secretary-General has been requested to submit as soon as the situation warrants, and in any case in good time before the end of the current UNOSOM II mandate on 31 May 1994, will provide further information on this matter.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Spain for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. CARDENAS (Argentina) (interpretation from Spanish): Let me begin by congratulating you, Sir, on your excellent work as President of the Council. My congratulations also go to Ambassador Kovanda, who ably guided the work of the Council last month.

My delegation welcomes the comprehensive and timely report the Secretary-General has submitted on the item before us. The report refers to some encouraging elements, such as the positive efforts being made by the parties to the conflict, by the United Nations and by countries of the region to promote national reconciliation in Somalia, as well as the significant progress achieved in certain parts of the country, particularly outside Mogadishu, towards restoring order and towards reorganization.

Yet, like other members of the Council, we are gravely concerned by the apparent rearming of certain factions; the continued hostilities and banditry; the indicators that suggest that in recent months malnutrition levels have been on the rise in

(Mr. Cardenas, Argentina)

areas where conflict and a lack of security persist; and the continuing threats and attacks against persons engaged in humanitarian and peace-keeping efforts.

For all those reasons, my delegation agrees with the Secretary-General's proposal for a new mandate for the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II). In our view, the new mandate will be more in keeping with the current situation in Somalia and with the capabilities and possibilities of the United Nations in this regard.

Through the resolution the Security Council has just adopted, the United Nations remains faithful to its commitment to Somalia and demonstrates its willingness to continue the tasks that were the reason for its original intervention in Somalia, including especially the unimpeded delivery of humanitarian assistance to all those in need.

The unusual situation in this country, reflected in the very serious fact that there is no central government, obliges UNOSOM II to remain under Chapter VII of the Charter. In that connection, we stress the need for the Operation to have at its disposal all the financing and military assets it needs to fulfil its mandate and effectively defend its personnel against armed attacks.

But a continuing United Nations presence does not in itself resolve the conflict. The responsibility for settling the situation lies primarily with the Somalis themselves; they need to redouble their efforts to overcome their differences and work together to rebuild their country on the basis set out in the recent Addis Ababa Agreements.

My delegation agrees that in the allocation of international resources for reconstruction, priority should be given to areas where security is being restored. The parties to the conflict must find a way to put the process of national reconciliation and

(Mr. Cardenas, Argentina)

reconstruction on a firm footing. We applaud all efforts to that end, especially those being made by the region itself. The commitments entered into by the parties at Addis Ababa must be respected, and the spirit in which they were achieved must prevail.

For all those reasons, it is necessary that the cease-fire hold and that disarmament be carried out as agreed. The international community has another important role to play in this process, with assistance at the regional and national levels in reorganizing the police force and the justice system, thus helping restore Somalia's political and administrative fabric.

Let me conclude by expressing my Government's profound gratitude to all the countries that are contributing troops to UNOSOM II, to those providing humanitarian assistance and to those that are generously cooperating in programmes for the reconstruction of Somalia.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Argentina for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. KOVANDA (Czech Republic): First of all allow me to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the Office of President of the Council for the month of February. You can count on the support of our delegation this month, just as we benefited from your support in January.

Furthermore, I wish to thank all the previous speakers for their kind and generous words addressed to me, even though most of them were quite undeserved.

The Czech Republic welcomed the Secretary-General's report on Somalia for its thoroughness and comprehensiveness, and for the conscientious way in which it outlined the several options concerning the future of the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II).

The situation of Somalia itself evokes mixed feelings in us. In 1992 the United Nations took action in Somalia not because of the absence of a government, not because of mere skirmishes among clans, factions and parties, certainly not because of the need to keep a non-existent peace, but, above all, in order to help the people of Somalia - the people who were dying of starvation while trigger-happy gunmen, joy-riding in well-armed jeeps, were paralysing the efforts of humanitarian organizations to deliver food.

Today, on the one hand, there is absolutely no mistake about the extraordinary progress made in improving the lot of the people. In this respect, UNOSOM II, with the contribution of countless non-governmental organizations, has done a splendid job, and we salute it. On the other hand, the political scene in Somalia has not improved as much as one might have hoped. Fighting among the clans may have subsided, but it remains to be seen whether it has stopped for good. Far from disarming, the parties to the conflict

(Mr. Kovanda, Czech Republic)

are apparently rearming. Embryonic local administrative institutions - district and regional councils - are being created in a number of parts of the country, but their legitimacy is being questioned by some of those who used to freely plunder the emergency supplies of food. These same people, incidentally, now talk about UNOSOM II having outlasted its welcome.

Some things therefore bear emphasizing again: The Addis Ababa Agreements of January and March 1993 may not be perfect. Nevertheless, they constitute the only solid ground we have to build upon. Certainly, they can be changed. But, having been signed by a number of parties to the conflict, they can be changed only if and when these same parties agree to change them. Short of that, they continue to provide the basic guideposts for the future, and our resolution recognizes that.

Resolution 897 (1994) redefines the role which UNOSOM II is to play in the country. We will soon be operating with a smaller force - even if it continues to be the second largest peace-keeping operation the United Nations fields anywhere - and accordingly its mandate is more modest. In particular, we have come to realize that UNOSOM II cannot force the factions to give up their arms.

This, however, leads to continued worries about the future of the country. The key to the future - that is to say, to a political solution - is in political reconciliation, and clan elders, religious leaders and other respected personages have been doing their fair share to attain it. Political reconciliation is, however, predicated on disarming, especially on disarming those same thugs whose irresponsibility - to use as mild a word as I can find - aroused the conscience of the world two years ago and precipitated the sending of troops. Hopes for disarmament on a voluntary basis - or, as the resolution describes it, "cooperative

(Mr. Kovanda, Czech Republic)

efforts to achieve disarmament" (resolution 897 (1994), para. 2 (a)) - are, in our opinion, so much wishful thinking.

UNOSOM II has to stay until a political solution is found, lest all the dramatic improvements in the daily life of so many Somalis unravel in the chaos which would prevail otherwise. Yet we no longer have the wherewithal to disarm even the worst of the thugs and the bandits, which is a precondition to attaining the necessary political solution. We are trying to square a circle: in our view, resolution 897 (1994), puts UNOSOM II's work in a holding pattern. But we have supported it, since anything else would, realistically, be a recipe for disaster right now.

In conclusion, let me mention the following point. The discussion on UNOSOM II led last month to a meeting of Security Council members and troop-contributing countries under the auspices of the United Nations Secretariat. This, in the case of UNOSOM II, was the first meeting of its kind. Exchanging views on matters of this gravity is indispensable, and has great value both for the operation in question and for the general relationship between Security Council members and other States - not to speak of the importance it holds for Security Council members themselves by expanding their horizons. My delegation sincerely hopes that this practice will be resumed at every opportune moment, with respect to every sizeable peace-keeping operation.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the Czech Republic for his kind words addressed to me.

I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of Djibouti.

I first wish to express and emphasize my deep gratitude to my predecessor, Ambassador Karel Kovanda of the Czech Republic, for the extremely capable way he guided the Council during his tenure as President.

(The President)

The resolution we have just adopted represents the latest stage in our long, involved efforts to assist the people of Somalia to come together and stand once again as a self-sufficient, functioning nation.

Since the overthrow of the Siad Barre regime three years ago, there has been no government or recognized leader. To resolve this situation we have witnessed a succession of international conferences, beginning with the one in my own country, the Djibouti conference of 1991, which saw the participation of every political leader, all chiefs and elders, and an impressive international representation, resulting in the Djibouti accords.

Some months afterwards, unfortunately, fighting erupted, leading to the United Nations-sponsored meeting and agreements in New York. But, again, after a lull fighting resumed, creating the infamous humanitarian crisis that resulted in the 1992 United Nations intervention to create a safe environment for the delivery of humanitarian aid under the Unified Task Force (UNITAF). Once again, a series of conferences were held in Addis Ababa, leading to the definitive and comprehensive Addis Ababa Agreements, calling for a cease fire, disarmament and a grass-roots political reconstruction process. The United Nations was assigned the primary role of assisting in the implementation of these Agreements.

There is no need to repeat the litany of events which have transpired since then, as we are all quite familiar with them. Surprisingly enough, Somalia and the international community are once again at a crossroads, attempting to determine the direction we will take, and our respective roles.

(The President)

In this process we have been aided immensely by the recent report of the Secretary-General describing for us the positions of the Somali factions and the options open to the United Nations. The critical factors in the issue of what is to be done are the impending withdrawal of key countries and the implacable opposition to the Addis Ababa Agreements, including the role assigned to the United Nations in them, by certain factions. Together they have created a pervasive sense of insecurity and fear among all elements of Somali society, leading to rearming, a breakdown in security and interruptions of the flow of humanitarian aid.

Without security, it seems, war and anarchy loom ominously. Even the residual elements of UNOSOM II face a threatening prospect. Such is the level of concern that some countries have put into effect massive evacuation plans in case the capital descends into chaos. There is also talk of a feeding frenzy on remaining United Nations equipment. As The Economist noted recently, United Nations soldiers, confined to a minimum role, protecting posts and themselves, cannot stop the Somalis fighting one another. It is small wonder that, as incidents and attacks increase, there is fear and frustration on the part of many serving with the aid agencies.

What must we and the Somalis do? Without question, the idea of leaving Somali to its own ruined resources is repugnant. Moreover, we know the Somali people themselves want peace. This is shown by the position taken in the recent Addis Ababa Conference, of December 1993, by all the participating factions. We see it also in the peace initiative of the Hawiiye clan, which includes Aidid's and Mahdi's sub-clans, calling for an end to hostilities. While the leaders may attempt to resist this call, the jury is out on the hearts and minds of many young militiamen with respect to this call by the Imam of Hirab, the hereditary traditional leader.

(The President)

The threat, then, is the resumption of hostilities by some factional leaders. If this threat is to be countered, it must be by the Somalis themselves as the United Nations assumes a more limited role.

At the same time, the Somalis must see their efforts to reconstruct their society with widespread participation as beneficial, which means there must be development, reconstruction and aid. All this calls for peace and security. In short, there must be a Somali element capable of protecting in due course those involved in reconstructing their country. There must be a police, judicial and penal system. The police must be well armed, trained and equipped. As one policeman was quoted as saying recently, "If we get that equipment we can take over from the UN troops, because we have the support of the people."

Certainly, the recent grant of $12 million contributed by the United States is a strong step in that direction. The United States promise of 5,000 M-16 rifles and 350 trucks, and pledges of assistance from Egypt, Sweden, Germany, Norway and others, will do much to redress the weapons imbalance facing the police. We hear that the Mogadishu police at present have only 700 weapons, 37 radios and 14 vehicles. As their numbers, training, equipment and experience accumulate, they will provide a needed source of security. Concurrently, the United Nations must protect its major facilities and its personnel while they are engaged in training and assisting in reconstruction.

The democratic process must begin as early as possible and preparations must be made for elections for which factions register as parties, and eventually for a parliament and a president. The forces of - or at least the desire for - peace, development and democracy are strong, and this is what the United Nations must be

(The President)

seen to support in institutions, reconstruction and aid in its remaining tenure.

Destabilizing or destroying Somalia must be seen to come at a cost. There is a political solution to Somalia's problems, but it needs peace and security to unfold. If it is not directly by way of disarmament, at least initially, then it has to be through the fear of using weapons.

The United Nations mandate now changes from enforcement to more traditional peace-keeping, but in many ways its role must continue to have an essential bearing. With troops, sufficient logistics, protection of key facilities, the training and supply of Somalis to take over and reconstruction assistance in workable areas, the corner must be turned so that no one can return Somalia to the days of Barre. This will be particularly true if there is a regional agreement on a peaceful future for Somalia, which will serve everyone's legitimate interests.

While we would have liked to see in the resolution a stronger indication of those responsible for the present tension and limitations on progress in Somalia, a clearer statement of the purpose of the United Nations and an emphasis on the need to honour past commitments - as we have consistently done in regard to Mozambique, Angola, El Salvador and elsewhere - we none the less supported the resolution. We can only hope the period until 31 March - and even further, until 31 May 1994 - is used as effectively as possible to empower those elements in Somalia that are truly loyal to their country and what their country could be.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

There are no further names inscribed on the list of speakers.

(The President)

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council will remained seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 6.30 p.m.